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The Early History of the Seventh Kansas Cavalry.

Written by S. M. Fox, late Adjutant Seventh Kansas Cavalry, for the Kansas State Historical Society.

TO INTERPRET history accurately and truthfully one must have lived as a part of the history of which he speaks. This is especially true as relates to the campaigns of the early Kansas regiments along the Missouri border during the first months of the civil war. Documentary evidence relating to these movements is exceedingly meager, and we cannot confidently rely on the ever-increasing exaggeration of tradition. Therefore, when one attempts to criticise certain traditionary acts he should make himself doubly sure of the ground on which he bases his criticism.

At this day, while some of the actors in the drama are still living, the need of the Kansas Historical Society is a statement of the facts based upon the personal knowledge of the narrator. His opinion of men with whom he has been thrown in intimate relationship in the past is of value. Their authenticated deeds he may well record; but great care should be taken that injustice be not done by a loose setting forth as fact that of which he has no personal knowledge, but which has come to him second-hand, through a possibly prejudiced source.

I have undertaken this article not to embalm any personal achievement, but to correct a misstatement so baseless that I would not feel justified in letting it go unchallenged. I will endeavor to be as impersonal as possible, but it will be necessary to inject the ego into this statement long enough to say that I was a member of the Seventh Kansas cavalry and served in its ranks continuously from its earliest beginning, in 1861, until the regiment was finally mustered out as a veteran organization, in the fall of 1865; and therefore speak from intimate personal experience, and am not required to gather my facts from any secondary source.

This article is inspired by the following statement taken from an article printed in the ninth volume of the "Kansas Historical Collections," under the title, "The Black-Flag Character of War on the Border," contributed by Henry E. Palmer, late captain in the Eleventh Kansas cavalry. I quote as follows:

"This demoralized, inhuman condition of affairs in the district of the border was not confined to one side. The Seventh Kansas cavalry, organized October 28, 1861, commanded by Charles R. Jennison, gained under Jennison's control a world-wide reputation as the 'Jayhawkers.' Returning from their first raid into Missouri, they marched through Kansas City, nearly all dressed in women's clothes, old bonnets and outlandish hats on their heads; spinning-wheels, and even gravestones, lashed to their saddles; their pathway through the country strewn with, to them, worthless household goods; their route lighted by burning homes. This regiment was little less than an armed mob until Jennison was forced to resign, May 1, 1862. As might be inferred, this man Jennison brought only disgrace to Kansas soldiery."

Captain Palmer reiterates the above lurid statement in the Kansas City

Star of November 24, 1908, in a reply to M. H. Madden, who had seen fit to take exceptions to some of Captain Palmer's statements in the above-quoted article. In this last communication to the *Star*, Captain Palmer goes on to strengthen his statement by saying:

"There are neighbors of Mr. Madden in your peaceful, prosperous city that have not forgotten this parade through your streets, which occurred about October 7, 1861."

I wish first to state here, before going further, that the Seventh Kansas cavalry (or the First Kansas cavalry, as it was then designated) never in its history paraded through Kansas City in the guise and manner depicted by Captain Palmer. It never "paraded through the streets of Kansas City . . . returning from its first raid into Missouri," nor returning from any other raid.¹

It will be observed that Captain Palmer mixes his chronology. He has correctly given the date of the organization of the Seventh Kansas cavalry as October 28, 1861, but he later fixes the date of the alleged parade through Kansas City as October 7, 1861, twenty-one days before the regiment was organized.

It is a fact, however, that three companies of the Seventh Kansas were in Kansas City during the last half of September and the first half of October, 1861. These companies were, however, dismounted and without uniforms, having been rushed down from Fort Leavenworth to help defend the city against Price, then at Lexington. These companies made no raids whatever, but did provost duty, Major Anthony being provost marshal part of the time. Colonel Jennison had no rank in the regiment until the date of organization, October 28.² It was understood, of course, that he was to be the colonel. I was in Kansas City doing duty with one of the three companies, and it seems odd that I have no recollection of any parade made through Kansas City as described. I would certainly have been impressed with such a wild and wooly performance, as I was a tenderfoot not long out of the East. I do, however, have a very vague recollection of a story told in camp that Jennison had at one time marched defiantly through

NOTE 1.—Ex-Governor E. N. Morrill, of Hiawatha, a member of the Seventh Kansas, writes: "That story of Palmer's, it seems to me, is made up of whole cloth. It is absolutely false from beginning to end." From collateral incidents he fixes the date of the raid out to Independence as the 25th of November. The negroes of Independence had been waiting for the coming of a Moses, and Colonel Anthony was apparently the Moses that they were looking for, and they, doubtless following his suggestion, took wagons and carriages that they could find, loaded them with whatever they could gather up, and followed the regiment back to Kansas City, and the next day Anthony distributed the goods among the negroes and sent them over into freedom, which somewhere had an existence within the confines of Kansas. It is possible that the hazy memories of some of the old settlers have confused this negro hegira with the Seventh Kansas itself. The regiment went out and returned the same day in good order. I have no doubt this exodus of negro slaves was instigated by Anthony, and I think they went up to Leavenworth and trailed through the streets, seeking for homes in the promised land. Do you realize how much of the burning and alleged plundering in Missouri was done by the negroes, who took advantage of the conditions to even up old scores? Those negro slaves had an intelligence and knowledge of affairs beyond what many people realized. That day at Independence I remember that Colonel Anthony struck a man of company A over the head with his saber for being funny and putting on a woman's bonnet that he had picked up. Every regiment in the army had its complement of regimental fools that had to be suppressed.

Wilder's "Annals of Kansas" has the following: "December 20 (1861) One hundred contrabands freed by Colonel Anthony at Independence arrived at Leavenworth in gay procession." This freeing the slaves disturbed the rebel Missourians more than horse-stealing, or any other action of the Union troops.

NOTE 2.—While the governor had some weeks previously issued a commission to Charles R. Jennison as lieutenant-colonel, he was not mustered into the United States service until mustered colonel, October 28, 1861. D. R. Anthony was first commissioned as major, and was mustered such into the United States service on September 29, 1861. He was the recognized head of the

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Kansas City with an independent company of his old Jayhawkers, but the memory is very indistinct.

There are no available records to fix the dates of many border incidents, but Jennison did range about with his independent company well into September, 1861, and it seems hard for many to separate its doings from the acts of the Seventh Kansas, later associated with Jennison's name.³ Captain Palmer has fallen into this common error. It will doubtless be a surprise to the captain and others to learn that Colonel Jennison never for a minute commanded the Seventh Kansas in person on any raid or during any field operation in Missouri during the time he was connected with the regiment.

I never knew how or where Colonel Jennison spent a large portion of his time, or by what authority, other than his own, he was absent from his command. A part of his time was spent over the border in Kansas at a town known then as Squiresville. An occasional orderly—his means of communication with the regiment—would sometimes intimate that he was so-lacing the tedium of existence by an indulgence in a game of fascinating attraction in the West, known as draw-poker. Doubtless it was more attractive than the rude exercise that was necessarily an accompaniment of operations in the field. This is all that the rank and file knew of Jennison's whereabouts, and it was about all they cared. His influence on the regiment, if anything, was negative, and there were few who were not heartily glad when his wrath carried him to the precipitate step of sending in his resignation. This resignation was not forced, as Captain Palmer intimates, but was a voluntary act, induced by the appointment of James G. Blunt to the rank of brigadier-general, a position that he personally coveted and had hoped would be his. He made an intemperate speech to the men—the regiment was at Lawrence at the time—and during its course practically advised them to desert; and before his wrath cooled his resignation was out of his hands beyond recall. A few men, principally from company H (the company recruited by Cleveland), deserted in response to Jennison's advice. The number was not great, and doubtless some of them went to join the band that Cleveland was organizing at the time, and that later preyed for a brief season on Union man and rebel with just impartiality. Before I pass on I want to say that company H was never a disorderly organization. Cleveland resigned just as the regiment was organized, and his service with the company was practically nothing. It was always a fighting organization, and many of the best men in the regiment were in its ranks. The undesirable element had voluntarily eliminated itself.

In the sketch, "The Black-Flag Condition of the War on the Border," there seem to be many loose and inconsistent statements. Captain Palmer speaks frankly of the burning of Osceola, Mo., by his own command (Lane's

regiment until Jennison was mustered, as above. The regimental staff was organized in the middle of October, by the muster of John T. Snoddy (October 14, 1861) as adjutant, and, on the same date, Samuel Ayers as chaplain. It will be seen that the alleged ungodliness of the regiment was not due to the neglect of the governor in supplying an opportunity for religious training. Robert W. Hamer was mustered as quartermaster the following day and the regimental staff was supplied with a sequence of reports, Bibles and fodder.

NOTE 3.—Capt. W. E. Prince, Fort Leavenworth, to Gen. J. H. Lane, September 9, 1861: "I hope you will adopt early and active measures to crush out this marauding which is being enacted in Captain Jennison's name, as also yours, by a band of men representing themselves as belonging to your command."—War Records, vol. 3, series 1, p. 482.

brigade), and the big drunk indulged in by some of the troops that would have incapacitated them for defense had they been attacked that night. He mentions a drumhead court martial at Morristown, when seven prisoners were summarily condemned and shot to death as a retaliatory measure. Then, later, he makes this statement:

"The seventeen Kansas regiments, three batteries, and three colored regiments, with the exceptions above noted, gave the enemy no cause for guerilla warfare, but all left good records for brave and soldierly conduct, and the Seventh Kansas fully redeemed itself under Colonel Lee with Sherman's army, 1862 to 1864."⁴

The exceptions referred to were the Seventh and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry regiments.

I do not know the kind of meat that Cæsar has to feed upon to become an oracle. But the captain knew little or nothing of the redemption of the Seventh Kansas. Colonel Lee was a brigade commander, and did not personally command the regiment more than two months; and, besides, the Seventh Kansas never served in Sherman's army. Sherman was at one time a part of the army of the Tennessee, but the Seventh Kansas was never under him. I do not personally know anything relating to the Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, for I was serving far away, and the enemy confronting us was giving us sufficient to occupy our minds without worrying over other troubles. The men of the Fifteenth Kansas can make their own defense. However, I do protest against the name of Jennison being used to connect the Seventh Kansas with any event that occurred in Missouri.⁵ Through two of its officers, Jennison and Cleveland, the regiment gained the name "Jayhawkers"—a heritage that brought trouble, but gave us the inspiration to make the name good.

Other statements of Captain Palmer, for the purpose of historical accuracy, call for correction. After giving a list of guerrilla chieftains who operated in western Missouri in the early part of 1861 and whose blood-curdling war-cry was, "No surrender except in death!" he continues:

"The Kansans under Lane,⁶ Montgomery, Blunt, Jennison, Anthony, Hoyt and others accepted the challenge, and until General Fremont, in October, 1861, issued his order against this retaliatory work and forced a reorganization of Lane's brigade, which forced Lane out of the army and back to the senate, there was no pretension to the common amenities of civilized war," etc.

It will be remembered, in an extract previously herein quoted, Captain Palmer states that, with the exception of the Seventh and Fifteenth Kan-

NOTE 4.—Maj. Charles G. Halpine, assistant adjutant-general to Secretary of War, March 14, 1862: "Nothing could exceed the demoralized condition in which General Hunter found the Third and Fourth Kansas infantry and Fifth and Sixth Kansas cavalry, formerly known as 'Lane's brigade,' on his arrival in this department. The regimental and company commanders knew nothing of their duties, and apparently had never made returns or reports of any kind."—*War Records*, vol. 8, series 1, p. 615.

NOTE 5.—There is an error in Coffin's "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas" (vol. 7, *Kansas Hist. Col.*, p. 360). He says: The Seventh Kansas cavalry, Colonel Jennison's regiment, was made up about this time [1863] 1200 men. They obtained orders and crossed into Platte county, and, with a besom of destruction, swept the border river counties, freeing all the slaves, of whom long cavalcades, with wagons, carriages, mules and stock, were crossing into Kansas continually."

The date of this makes it clear that it was the Fifteenth Kansas, and not the Seventh. The Seventh was in Mississippi during the year 1863.

NOTE 6.—Senator P. B. Plumb once remarked to the secretary that Senator James H. Lane was the only man who commanded an army without a commission.

sas cavalry regiments, none of the Kansas organizations "gave the enemy cause for guerrilla warfare." The captain's statements do not seem to track. But, as to historical accuracy, note that he rings in Anthony and Hoyt in active connection with Lane, Montgomery, etc., before the issuance of Fremont's order in October, 1861, when the fact is that Anthony was not actively engaged in the field until November 11, and Hoyt was not yet in the service. While Hoyt was in service in Missouri with the Seventh Kansas he was an inconsequential second lieutenant; he became captain just as the regiment started for Mississippi, but until he resigned, not long after, he was for most part of the time in the sick squad, and cut no figure in the regiment worthy of mention.

In a list of lurid incidents, which the captain says "come before my mind as a panorama, vivid as life, a story that can never be told," etc., the following is mentioned as traveling by, among the other glaring scenes:

"Captain Charles Cleveland's desertion with several of company H, Seventh Kansas black-horse cavalry," etc.

History demands certain corrections: Cleveland's first name was Marshall, not Charles; the Seventh Kansas was never known as the "black-horse cavalry," but company H was for a brief time called the "black-horse company;" and, finally, Cleveland did not desert, but left the regiment regularly, by accepted resignation; also, the desertion of eight or ten men from company H was five months after Cleveland resigned. Otherwise the lurid vision is correct as relates to Cleveland.

I have been compelled to make the foregoing references to Captain Palmer's article to show that he was not sufficiently careful in verifying many of his statements, and that there is much chronological confusion, as frequently the act antedates its suggested cause. The story of the motley parade of the Seventh Kansas, led through Kansas City by Colonel Jennison, is pure fiction as far as the Seventh Kansas is concerned. Captain Palmer did not admire Colonel Jennison; nothing of good could therefore result from any connection with him, and, under the mistaken idea that Jennison was in active command of the regiment during its brief service in Missouri, it could be but a disorganized rabble, and it was safe to call it so. He has failed utterly to discriminate between the lawless acts of Jennison, butting in with his independent company⁷ along the border during the early months of the war, and the regiment which later was associated with his name.

As to the Seventh Kansas cavalry, Lieut.-Col. D. R. Anthony superintended the organization of the regiment and was the god of the machine. He was in active command of the regiment during the brief time it served in Missouri, and to him should be given all credit or blame that justly be-

NOTE 7.—Jennison was twice commissioned by Governor Robinson in the Kansas Militia in 1861, first on February 23, captain of Mound City Sharps Rifles Guards, and May 28, lieutenant-colonel Third regiment, southern division, Kansas Militia.

A correspondent in the Leavenworth *Conservative*, writing from Fort Scott, July 10, 1861, and signing himself "Jayhawker," tells of the operations of Captain Jennison in Missouri. Starting from Mound City, July 4, with thirteen men, he entered Vernon county, Missouri, July 5, and organized a company of forty-five men, with Isaac Morris, of Vernon county, Missouri, captain. Recruits from both states came in rapidly. Another company, under Ben Rice, soon joined the first, when separately they raided several secession camps, capturing army supplies, horses, etc., among them an ox-train with military supplies for Fort Arbuckle. Although Captain Jennison was not known as an officer, all recognized him as commander-in-chief of the expedition, which reached Fort Scott with 800 recruits. His purpose, it is stated, was to pass down through southwest Missouri and cooperate with United States troops in protecting Union men. —Colonel Jennison's Scrap-book, vol. 1, p. 11.

longs to this organization growing out of its service along the border. This service began about November 10, 1861, and ended January 31, 1862. Two weeks of this time was spent in camp up in Kansas, south of Leavenworth, and therefore its service in Missouri was of little more than two months' duration. Regiments had been marched to and fro. Lane's brigade of four regiments had been in the field for several months, moving up and down the border. Internecine strife was continuous with the people themselves, and when the Seventh Kansas first came into Missouri the desolate monuments that marked the destruction of barns and dwellings were to be seen with pitiful frequency; and yet it is fashionable to charge this desolation to the regiment that became heir to the name of "Jayhawkers." What this regiment actually did is sin enough, but it was a very small part when compared with the whole.

The statement that "With the exception of the Seventh and Fifteenth Kansas cavalry, there were no better disciplined or better behaved troops in the Union army than the Kansas men," is a very extravagant phrase. The Kansas regiments were rushed into service before they were half organized. None of them were well disciplined at the beginning, and many incompetent officers were at first selected. It took time to get rid of incompetency, and the governor did much harm in commissioning inexperienced men from civil life and sending them out to take places that men who had made good by efficient service were justly entitled to. The two first regiments were magnificent organizations, but they received their discipline on the bloody field of Wilson Creek.⁸ The sobering influence of a desperate battle will accomplish more in a day towards discipline than the martinet can bring about in a year of strenuous effort. None of the regiments at the first held the edge over the others, as far as discipline went. No state certainly had the variety of adventurous material that made up the Kansas organization. There were Puritans and "hellions," and the intermediate grades of men; some praised God, and others cursed in His name; but they all were from a race militant, and, whether disciplined or not, fought when the chance offered.

When the Seventh Kansas was paraded for muster at Fort Leavenworth on the date of the organization, October 28, 1861, but nine companies were in line. Company K, which Capt. John Brown, jr., was recruiting in Ohio had not reached the state. Jennison appeared in person for the first time, and, after getting himself "balled up" while trying to put the regiment through the manual of arms, rode away and left the command to Lieutenant-Colonel Anthony. I do not recall having seen Colonel Jennison again with the regiment until at Humboldt in February, 1862, where he was stationed in command of a brigade. If he visited the regiment at any time while in Missouri, it was a transient call. Colonel Anthony was permitted to exercise his own will without check or hindrance, so far as any apparent interference by Jennison was concerned. What that will was, Colonel Anthony has been too recently with us and is too well known to make a statement nec-

NOTE 8.—In the battle of Wilson Creek the First Kansas lost fifty-one per cent. of those engaged in killed and wounded. At the time of this battle the First and Second Kansas had been in the service but two months. During the battle Major Sturgis remarked to General Lyon, "These Kansas boys are doing the best fighting that I ever witnessed." The First regiment afterwards traveled 6000 miles, through eight rebel states. The Second regiment was the last one to leave the field (Wilson Creek), and the only regiment which kept its line and organization unbroken from the first to the last of the fight, which lasted about six hours.

essary. The reader's judgment would doubtless be nearer the mark than Colonel Anthony's own, for he stated at a state editorial meeting a few years ago, while in a reminiscent mood, that he felt the greatest mistake he had made in life was, he had been too conservative.

When about the middle of October, 1861, the three companies returned from Kansas City to Fort Leavenworth, as is stated earlier in this paper, clothing and equipment began to be issued. An unmustered company came from Illinois on escort duty, and they were persuaded to remain and cast their fortune with Kansas; they became company D. Finally, on October 28, nine companies being organized, and company K just ready to start from Ohio under young John Brown, the complete organization was accomplished.

Jennison, as I have said, appeared for a brief moment; and it was just about this time that the thrilling scene that preceded Cleveland's resignation was enacted. A dismounted parade had been formed on the "blue-grass," Colonel Anthony receiving the salute. Cleveland had made his first appearance. He was dressed in a somewhat motley garb—a soft hat, a regulation coat, drab trousers thrust into low-topped riding-boots, a belt carrying a surplus of revolvers and a saber that seemed a hindrance. Colonel Anthony did not approve of the drab trousers, and forthwith proceeded to deliver a public censure; whereupon the restive Jayhawker proceeded to advance to the "front and center" without waiting for orders. There was language, profane and incisive, while each man looked the other directly in the eye. The amenities being passed, they glared at each other a moment, then Cleveland, with a parting compliment which has passed down into history, strode away to his horse, hitched near by, and a moment later was galloping toward Leavenworth city. His resignation quickly followed, and was as promptly accepted.

Men of the class of Jennison and Cleveland were nothing if not spectacular. Jennison while colonel of the Seventh Kansas never wore the regulation head-gear; he always affected a tall, brimless fur cap. I recall my first vision of Cleveland. I was an eastern tenderfoot, and was being inducted into a knowledge of the new western world by a much-experienced brother recruit. We were sauntering down Shawnee street in Leavenworth, and had just stopped to read a newly posted bill. It was headed "Reward," and beneath it was set forth that a tempting number of dollars would be handed over to the individual who would bring in the body of one Marshall Cleveland, "dead or alive." We had both concluded that we were not hard up, and had started down the street, when we saw a gentleman with a neatly trimmed black beard riding towards us up the street. He was neatly dressed in a drab suit, low riding boots and a soft hat gracefully slouched. He wore the universal belt, and a bulge on either side in the tails of his frock coat made it plain to see that he was not defenseless. His horse looked like a thoroughbred, and he seemed wonderfully at home in the saddle. I remarked: "That's a mighty fine horse." My friend answered: "It ought to be; he has the pick of Missouri. That's Cleveland." Nobody offered to arrest him, and he rode on up the street. He went south on Fifth, and turned east on Delaware street. He was offering his person to the reward-seekers with a reckless nonchalance that thrilled my unsophisticated nature to the core. I, however, did not hover in his vicinity.

The same evening while I—still inducted by my guide—was listening with curiosity rather than delight to the much-bedazzled prima donna of the slums, at the "Moral Show" that stood by the old market-house at the corner of Fifth and Shawnee streets, a little flurry brought attention to the fact that Cleveland was leaning against a post in the back part of the hall. He nodded to a few acquaintances, refused the request of a cross-eyed Hebe to invest in her liquid wares, and presently sauntered out. My next information was that the offer of reward had been withdrawn, and that Cleveland had been authorized to recruit a company for Jennison's regiment.

The organization of the Seventh Kansas being effected, the regiment, well uniformed, well mounted, but indifferently armed, moved down through Kansas to Kansas City and went into camp. Anthony, in person, with companies A, B and H, went into bivouac on the Majors farm, about four miles southeast of Westport. The remainder of the regiment, except company K, camped in nearer to Kansas City, on O. K. creek.

It will be remembered that all of the city practically lay north of the junction [Main and Delaware] in those days, and did not reach out very far to the east or west. The McGee division, to the south, contained a brick block of three or four stores and a few scattering houses and was connected with the city by an unpaved road, unless six inches of Missouri clay mud can be called a pavement.

It is not necessary to keep harping about the conditions that prevailed along the Kansas border at this time, yet possibly a little retrospection may make matters plainer to those who were not participants in these affairs. The border-ruffian element in Missouri had held the ascendancy during 1855 and 1856, and rode over Kansas roughshod. They had burned Lawrence and Osawatomie, and plundered other hamlets; had committed murders and outrages through the settlements, and had shown no mercy. Montgomery and John Brown, who were essentially men of action, began to lead their followers to resistance, and others followed their lead. There were others who rode up and down and raged, but made little show of accomplishment. The steady northern persistence finally made itself felt, and the border-ruffian element was gradually thrown on the defensive. They had sown the wind and the whirlwind had to be reaped.

When the war became a fact, the conditions along the Kansas border were unlike anything elsewhere. There were bitter wrongs to be righted, and no one can stay the power of revenge. The creed of self-repression, where the reversed cheek is to be submitted to the smiter, finds but few who will accept it in times of stress. They rather turn to the Old Testament, where a contrary doctrine can find support. John Brown had become a martyr, and his soul militant had commenced its march of freedom, and inspired feet were swinging into step to follow. Loyal Missourians, driven from their homes, had joined the Union army, with the bitter purpose to accomplish reprisal and revenge. No one can make a comparison with conditions existing anywhere else in the land. The situation must be judged by itself; it can admit of no comparison; it stands unique and alone.

Imagination doubtless depicts the "Jayhawkers," represented in the individuals who made up the Seventh Kansas cavalry, as bearded desperadoes with mustaches painted and drooping and a bellicose swagger that suggested trouble to the timorous wayfarer. The truth is that a majority

of this regiment were beardless youths. Some of them had roughed it through life and were coarse of fiber, but many others had come from cultured homes in New England and Eastern states. Not half of the regiment was recruited in Kansas, but there was leaven enough to permeate the lump. One company was recruited in Ashtabula county, Ohio, organized by a son of John Brown, and did not need any leavening influence. Three whole companies and the halves of two others came from Illinois. The John Brown company came the long journey that the name of "Kansas" might be associated with their efforts toward the overthrow of slavery. They were saturated with the spirit of the martyrs. As to education, the men ranked high above the average. The regiment furnished more clerks at the various headquarters than any other similar organization in the Sixteenth army corps. The men were not ruffians or desperadoes, but averaged fairly with other regiments of the civil war. They were probably no better or no worse.⁹

The name of "Jayhawker" was not an asset at first to be highly valued. The men laughed at it and accepted it. They did not realize what might happen to them in future ages when the ambitious historian turned his imagination loose on the iniquities that attended the name. When, in the spring of 1862, the regiment was ordered down to the Army of the Tennessee, where real war was on tap, the name suggested a scapegoat, and every regiment in the army corps began systematically to lay their depredations on the shoulders of the Seventh Kansas. We had our pay held up for over eight months because we refused to make good the depredations committed almost entirely by an Illinois regiment. It was for this injustice that the First Kansas, out of sympathy (God bless them!), refused to cheer General Grant when so ordered, as they marched by his headquarters at Oxford, Miss., in the fall of 1862. And this grand old regiment was mighty well disciplined, too. I love this old regiment. We served together for almost a year. I never shall forget the scene at the Tallahatchie when the rebels began their advance toward our little regiment from their forts along the bottom. Forty siege-guns were filling the atmosphere with bursting shells, and things looked dubious. But just then the infantry column came up at double time, the First Kansas in the advance—"Jayhawkers, ye'll have help now!" All hell couldn't have taken that hill.

During the summer of 1862 the Seventh Kansas served under the great cavalry leader, General Sheridan, then a colonel, at Rienzi, the extreme southern outpost of the army. The service was hazardous and exacting, but this efficient soldier often spoke in generous praise of the service rendered. During the advance of General Grant's army down the Mississippi Central Railway toward Vicksburg in the fall of 1862, day after day the Seventh Kansas held the post of honor as the advance-guard of the main infantry column, and it skirmished and fought over every foot of the way between the Cold Water and Coffeyville. It cleared and carried the crossing of every intermediate stream; charged through and captured Holly Springs in the early morning, with military stores and many prisoners; charged the rebel battery at Waterford and captured one of its guns; and finally drove

NOTE 9.—The American Bible Society had a depository at Harrisonville, Mo. When a detachment of the Seventh Kansas entered the town the store had been already looted by some previous organization, but the Bibles were left intact. The Seventh Kansas took the Bibles. It might be pleasant at this late date for the Bible Society to learn that their involuntary charity had been so appropriately applied.

the enemy behind their breastworks at the Tallahatchie, and held them there for eight hours until the infantry advance came up, led by the grand old First Kansas infantry. These eight hours were passed under the steady fire of forty siege-guns that made up the Confederate batteries. Men of the Seventh Kansas crawled that night through the rebel pickets and into their fortifications, and brought the news that the enemy were evacuating. In the early morning this regiment forced a crossing and followed, harassing their rear-guard from Abbeyville to Oxford, and, driving back their artillery, carried the town by a charge, fighting every inch of the way through the streets. Between the Tallahatchie and Water Valley this one regiment captured over 2000 prisoners. At Coffeyville, where the entire cavalry division was led into a trap by an inefficient leader, the Seventh Kansas was in the brunt of the battle, and fell back in order, and it was the Seventh Kansas that formed at the Tillaboba bridge against the rebel infantry and stopped their pursuit. General Grant never criticised the fighting qualities of the regiment.

Gen. G. M. Dodge, when in command of the Sixteenth army corps, always gave the Seventh Kansas cavalry the preference, and plainly told us so. While under his command the Seventh Kansas and Tenth Missouri cavalry (Cornyn's brigade), numbering less than 1000 men, whipped to a finish 3500 men under Roddy at Leighton, Ala., and a week later the augmented brigade whipped General Gholson's army at Tupello, Miss., capturing an entire regiment of Confederate cavalry.

During the campaigns of Gen. A. J. Smith against Forrest, in northern Mississippi, in 1864, that splendid fighter detached the Seventh Kansas from the cavalry corps, and the Jayhawkers were again given the honored position of advance-guard of the main infantry column. It cleared the way from the north line of Mississippi to Pontotoc; and when Smith made a feint retreat to maneuver Forrest outside of his fortifications, the Seventh Kansas fought for sixteen hours, covering the rear against Forrest's entire cavalry division. Only those who have been up against Forrest know what this means. Forrest himself says, referring to this rear defense: "He took advantage of every favorable position, and my artillery was kept almost constantly busy." The whole wagon-train for the most of the day had but the Seventh Kansas between it and the enemy's cavalry. General Smith's confidence in the regiment must have been great; and it was not mistaken—not a wagon was lost.

The above incidents are cited to show that under great war leaders the Jayhawkers were trusted and honored, and that as a fighting regiment it always made good. It fought an offensive warfare, not waiting to be attacked, but dashed in and got in that effective first blow that wins the fight. Even during its two months in Missouri in the winter of 1861-'62, its killed and wounded was almost fifty per cent. more than the similar loss in Lane's brigade during the whole time it was under Lane's command.

The first movement made into Missouri, as has been said, was by companies A, B and H, led by Colonel Anthony. On the evening of November 10, 1861, a loyal Missourian came in with the information that the rebel Up. Hayes had assembled his band of guerrillas for mischief, and was in camp on the Little Blue about thirteen miles out. Anthony immediately moved, with 110 men, and after an all-night march attacked the rebel camp at early

morning of the 11th. A desperate fight followed. The rebel force greatly outnumbered Anthony's command, but, taken by surprise, they were driven from their camp with heavy loss, and their horses, wagons and entire camp equipment were captured. The guerrillas retreated to the bluffs and rallied behind the rocks in a strong defensive position, from which they could not be driven. Our loss was nine men killed and about thirty wounded, many of the latter, however, but slightly. The rebel dead left in camp was a much larger number. Anthony retired, bringing away all his killed and wounded and all the captured property. The writer was, with the reinforcements, hurried out to Anthony's support. He was met some eight miles out, on his return march. There were farm-wagons and bed-quilts, a part of the primitive rebel equipment. In some of the wagons were the severely wounded, stolidly bearing their pain; in others the bed-quilts covered motionless shapes, and told the pitiful story of death and sacrifice. There were no "women's dresses," nor "spinning-wheels" nor "gravestones strapped¹⁰ to the horses"—the gravestones were a matter for after-consideration. This was the first raid of the Seventh Kansas into Missouri.

Soon after the regiment went into camp together on the Westport road, near the old McGee tavern. From this camp the regiment made a march out to Independence, returning the same day. This movement is called "a raid" by Britton in his "Civil War on the Border, 1861-'62," (page 176). He erroneously fixes the date in September (more than a month before the Seventh Kansas was organized), and credits the speech in the court-house square to Jennison. Jennison was not present; Colonel Anthony was in command and made the speech.

When Price retreated south from Lexington he promised to soon return with reinforcements and occupy the country permanently. The rebel sympathizers around Independence were aggressively elated, and the spirit of secession blatantly rampant. Threats were being made against loyal citizens, and many were being driven from their homes and compelled to come over into Kansas for safety.

Both the march out and return were orderly. It was not the first time Union troops had passed over this road. Some destroying hand had sometime preceded us; along the road were several lonely chimneys and blackened remains of houses. As we entered Independence, riding down the long, sloping street to the business part of the town, we saw two ladies waving their handkerchiefs from the upper floor of a double porch, at the rear of a house about a block to the left. When we returned in the afternoon they were again at their post. Three years later, when the veteran Seventh Kansas had been rushed by forced marches from Mississippi to help defend Kansas against Price, and as the extreme advance of Pleasanton's relieving army charged up that same street against a battery in action on the crest, two ladies were waving their handkerchiefs from that same porch.

NOTE 10.—The writer of this article has had some experience with pack-trains, but is at a loss just how to proceed to strap a spinning-wheel to a saddle, especially as the saddle is to be occupied by a rider. The statement seems a little extravagant. Also, the setting of the scene seems to be a little contradictory. That the route should be "lighted by burning homes" requires a background of darkness, and that the particulars of the fantastic garb and impedimenta alleged to have been borne by the recreant Jayhawkers be made evident, the light of day would seem to have been most necessary. Also, referring to the "gravestones" that were strapped to the saddles, might they not have been finger-boards taken from the crossroads? Or perhaps the word "gravestones" is a misprint for grindstones; for it was the universal custom of the Seventh Kansas to take possession of all grindstones found along the line of march. These were worn on the watch-chain as an ornament or fob.

Shells were bursting and bullets were flying thick, but they maintained their post to the end. They did not seem to have any grudge against the Seventh Kansas.

While at Independence the regiment was not permitted to break ranks. The male citizens were rounded up and corraled in the court-house square, and Colonel Anthony, from the court-house steps, impressed upon their minds some wise and salutary truths. I do not know that much good was accomplished, but I am sure Colonel Anthony himself must have been greatly relieved when he got that red-hot stuff out of his system. No houses were burned at any time. The regiment made an orderly march back to their camp and did not parade through Kansas City, and the lurid story of the route being "lighted by burning homes" lacked the necessary background of darkness to have made it effective.

Colonel Anthony was a rigid disciplinarian and exacted obedience on every occasion. He was at times tyrannical, and on several occasions he stood perilously near death when he threatened men with the flat of his saber. He never stood for foolishness, and while on the march was constantly up and down the column watching the conditions, and if the fool of the regiment had deemed it funny to array himself in any grotesque manner he would have been ordered to dismount and continue the rest of the march on foot, and when in camp the most unpleasant part of fatigue duty would have been assigned to him. No culprit could ever hope to escape through forgetfulness; his case was always attended to. The army was too new for this excess of discipline, and often he would have accomplished more by less exacting methods. He was himself restive under authority, and did not hesitate to express his opinion of the incompetency of certain officers over him, and this was not a good pattern of discipline to set for his men. The first year of the war was a great strain on the army. A lot of incompetent book soldiers had to be tried out, and the great leaders were yet subordinates, who had still to make themselves evident by their works. In the regiment, the first selection of company officers was not always a success. They were elected by the men. But I will say this method produced better results than would have obtained from a direct independent appointment by the governor; and this opinion is abundantly sustained by the character of the appointments he later imposed upon us from civil life. Two of his appointments did make good. Capt. Jacob M. Anthony illustrated the Kansas motto, but he was helped by peculiar conditions; and Fred Emery, the other, very soon was transferred to the regimental staff as adjutant, and did not have a disgruntled company of men behind him to make life a tantalizing and troublous journey. All the rest went down to oblivion through forced resignation or the sentence of a court martial.

A few days after this "raid" out to Independence, the Seventh Kansas moved out by a roundabout way to Pleasant Hill. On this march guerrilla pickets were in evidence on distant elevations, disappearing over the crest whenever a near approach was made. Late in the morning a heavy fog came down, and the advance was necessarily very cautious. When the fog suddenly lifted, the point, consisting of six men under the command of First Sergt. Johnny Gilbert of company C, saw a squad of men grouped up the road near a house on a hill. He immediately charged, and the guerrillas, evidently thinking the whole regiment was behind the yells that the six

throats were emitting, broke and wildly stampeded down the road, and, to the surprise of the charging squad, about eighty mounted men, who had been invisible behind an echelon of barns and stacks, dashed out and, terror-stricken, followed them. One dead mule and one wounded prisoner were the material fruits of this unexpected victory. I cannot refrain from injecting here an item of personal achievement. I charged with this squad, but I could not help it—my horse ran away. As to Johnny Gilbert, he later deserted, leaving all government property carefully scheduled behind him in his tent. He had been outraged by the appointment by the governor of an incompetent, cowardly civilian to a commissioned vacancy that in all justice belonged to him. I saw him later in the service as a sergeant of artillery in a famous battery attached to the Sixteenth army corps.

A few days later the regiment came back and went into camp in the old fair-ground at Independence. While at this camp fifteen picked men were sent out, under command of Lieut. Frank Ray, to the north as far as the river. A written list of about a dozen houses, scatteringly located, was given him, with verbal instructions to burn them. This was systematically done. Ray had been a sergeant in the regular army. His force was small and the neighborhood was full of danger, and he kept his men compactly together. No looting was permitted, not even from houses burned. One old Roman matron helped the destruction by throwing a pillow-case a quarter full of powder in her fireplace, and walked from the ruins apparently unscathed. Whether the orders for this burning came from higher than regimental authority I never knew. There was no row made at Fort Leavenworth over it, as was the case in subsequent events.

The regiment went north into Kansas for about two weeks, being during the time in camp about eight miles south of Leavenworth. On December 10 the Seventh Kansas was ordered to West Point, in the northern part of Bates county, Missouri. There was no town there at the time, it having been burned by other vandals than the Jayhawker regiment. On December 24, the regiment marched north in the face of a blinding blizzard, to Morristown,¹¹ or where Morristown¹¹ had once stood. This town was also little more than a name; the anticipatory torch had some time before blotted it out. It was here that Col. Hampton Johnson of the Fifth Kansas cavalry had been ambushed and slain at the crossing of the stream, in September; and it was here, I believe, at that time, that seven Confederate prisoners were subjected to the action of a drumhead court martial and shot at the edge of their graves. The justice of this act does not concern the history of the Seventh Kansas. It occurred before the service of that regiment began. This was the permanent camp of the regiment during the remainder of its stay in Missouri.

On the last day of 1861 a raid was made out to Dayton and Rose Hill. The latter town was in the southeast corner of Johnson county. Fulkerson, Scott and Britty, rebel officers, were recruiting through this neighborhood. Many Union families were being driven out and over into Kansas, and brought stories of burning and outrage to our camp. There was much skir-

NOTE 11.—A correspondent signing himself "A. B. M.," writing from near Morristown, July 23, 1861, speaks of the capture of Morristown, Mo., July 22, by Captain Jennison with twenty-five of his own men and twenty volunteers. Two wagon-loads of "contraband" goods were taken and distributed through the camp. To the writer's share fell two hats, a necktie, drawers, bridle-bit, soap, pencils, blank books, writing-paper, and, as company steward, a supply of drugs and medicines.—Jennison Scrap-books, vol. 1, p. 13.

mishing during this trip, and Colonel Anthony was in personal command.¹² The town of Dayton was burned by his order, and he never shrank from the responsibility. Scattering farmhouses were also burned, and doubtless horses were taken and some looting done. Anthony made a report of this expedition. His action was disapproved by General Hunter, and he was censured, but never punished.

I cannot speak personally of the occurrences during the month of January, 1862, for I passed that month in an old remnant of a house at Morris-town set apart for a hospital. The delirium of typhoid fever blotted out my memory during that time. I can say, however, that there was much fighting during that month, and the regiment lost seven or eight men killed in action, and a number of men were wounded. On January 9 an expedition was made, under Major Herrick, to Holden and Columbus. Company D was ambushed at the latter place and driven back. Captain Utt, with company A, captured the town, buried our dead and burned the village. There was much scouting during the remaining time in Missouri. Horses were brought in, and doubtless many found their way to private homes in Kansas, and not many to the government corrals. It has been said that Jennison profited by the sale of some of them; but it is better understood that his active coöperator, when he resigned and sold this stock, told Jennison to whistle for his share.

Jennison evidently directed operations from a distance, in a limited sense, and a very limited portion of the command was involved. It is to be remembered that the desertions from company H were a matter of subsequent history. The regiment, as a body, was under a reasonable state of discipline. On January 31, 1862, the Seventh Kansas started on its march to Humboldt, Kan., which town had been burned during the previous October by rebel raiders led by Col. Talbott. Missouri knew the Seventh Kansas no more until the Price raid of the fall of 1864 brought back that regiment by forced marches from Mississippi. The hurried rush up the river to St. Louis from Memphis, the day-and-night march across Missouri, and the charge at Independence were subsequent history. The firing in the rear of Price's army, that told the almost exhausted Union soldiers at Kansas City that relief had come, was directed at the charging Kansas regiment, that had outlived obloquy and come into its heritage.

There is a good deal of rot connected with the theory that any especial man or deed was responsible for the raid on Lawrence. The original burning of Lawrence, Osawatimie, etc., was responsible for Montgomery, Jennison, etc., and the campaigns along the border in 1861 held the Missouri

NOTE 12.—The rebels in Jackson county never fought unless they had the advantage; they laid in ambush and bushwhacked. They did not wear uniforms, but wore citizens' clothing, and when cornered hid their guns and came out whining that they were Union men. Whenever a house was burned they always sent up a howl about being "Union," when no house was burned unless it was well-known that the owner was a guerrilla and out in the "bresh." The only howl made was by "Grandmother" Halleck, and General Hunter, who learned better later. In Alabama we went out and burned and destroyed barns, corn and fodder, and brought away all horses and mules; also cattle, as a rebel brigade made this their home and came out to raid upon our outlying camps. Whenever a train was fired upon by guerrillas we immediately destroyed all buildings and property within a radius of several miles. We burned Oxford, Miss., in retaliation for the burning of Chambersburg, Pa., by Early. (We got the news from a rebel newspaper which was exulting over it.)

Order of General Grant to General Sheridan, August 16, 1864: "If you can possibly spare a division of cavalry, send them through Loudon county to destroy and carry off the crops, animals, negroes, and all men under fifty years of age capable of carrying arms," etc.

This destruction was common throughout the army. It was a necessity. When Grant fell back from Oxford, Miss., in the winter of 1861 and 1862, we covered the rear. Fences, barns and houses were burning, destroyed by the infantry column in advance of us.

guerrillas in check for the time. Quantrill was a moral degenerate, and when one follows the subsequent career of train-robbing and murder of Jesse James, Cole Younger and others of Quantrill's old gang, the question of inducement to slaughter seems to be a superfluity. Quantrill doubtless had his eyes on Lawrence from the beginning, and was only watching for a propitious season to carry out a long-matured plan.

As to the conditions in Missouri after the Seventh Kansas left, the following extract from a letter of O. G. Cates, of Jackson county, Missouri, to Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War, bearing date of February 26, 1862, (War Records, vol. 17, part 2, p. 93) will illustrate:

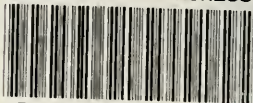
"It now appears that, although the Kansas volunteer troops in obedience to orders did leave the state of Missouri, the substituted United States troops in that county (Jackson) have made no change in their mode of warfare for the better; the same wanton and lawless violation on the rights of private property have continued without check or hindrance. Bands of negroes, slave and free, and clans of white men, thief and Jayhawker, from the state of Kansas, with the knowledge of the United States forces thus substituted, are permitted in open day to enter our county and freely gratify their savage lust of plunder and private revenge on defenseless and terror-stricken people."

It would appear from the above that the Seventh Kansas was not responsible for all the wrongs on the border.¹³ The Seventh Kansas had become heir to the name "Jayhawkers," and they bore it to the end. The regiment was neither an aggregation of devils nor saints. The regiment did always fight well, and gained some honor. Propitious fate transferred them to the Army of the Tennessee, and their initial service there was directly under Col. Philip Sheridan. Without orders, the regiment charged General Price's camp at Marietta, Miss., and rode through it and brought away his headquarters flag, and would have burned the camp had not Sheridan in person ordered us to withdraw. The Seventh Kansas rode down through Funderberger's Lane in the night against an unknown foe, and routed a superior force. The Seventh Kansas, unaided and far from support, charged Jackson's veteran cavalry division of over 4000 men, and the lane at Lamar was strewn with rebel dead. Thirty-six killed, 500 prisoners, hundreds of horses and over 2000 stands of arms were the fruits of this victory. The infantry regiments came out and cheered us as we passed their camps on our return, and it became a custom that obtained for months

NOTE 13.—A careful reading of the war records of operations in Jackson and surrounding counties during 1862, between the time that the Seventh Kansas was withdrawn and the "Red Leg" service began—that houses of rebels continued to be burned by Union troops, as is noted in the reports of Col. John T. Burris and others (War Records, vol. 8), and the "capture" of horses by the hundreds that were seized and brought out of Missouri, which are mentioned in these reports—indicate that the warfare of 1861 continued, and it does not appear that any specific censure emanated from headquarters. Also Gen. Ben. Loan, on November 17, 1862, assessed \$15,000 against the disloyal citizens of Jackson county, \$7500 to be applied to subsidize enrolled militia, and \$7500 for destitute families of soldiers engaged in active service. General Curtis alone seemed to comprehend the situation, as his communication to General Loan (War Records, vol. 13, p. 688), dated September 29, 1862, indicates:

"... You think Lane and Jennison should be sent to a 'safe place.' I think it would be safe to send them against the rebels and Indians that are now collected and invading McDonald, Barry and Stone counties. But let terror reign among the rebels. It will be better to have them under such power than loose to carry on guerrilla warfare which drives good people out of Jackson and Lafayette. . . . What rights have the rascals that go skulking about in the garb of citizens, not soldiers? Even our enrolled militia go with a badge on their hats; but these bands of so-called 'Partisan Rangers' sneak through the brush with no emblems of war, but with the stealthy, concealed garb of a private citizen, seek to continue the business of stealing, robbing and murdering. They deserve no quarter, no terms of civilized warfare. Pursue, strike and destroy these reptiles, and report to these headquarters as often as possible."

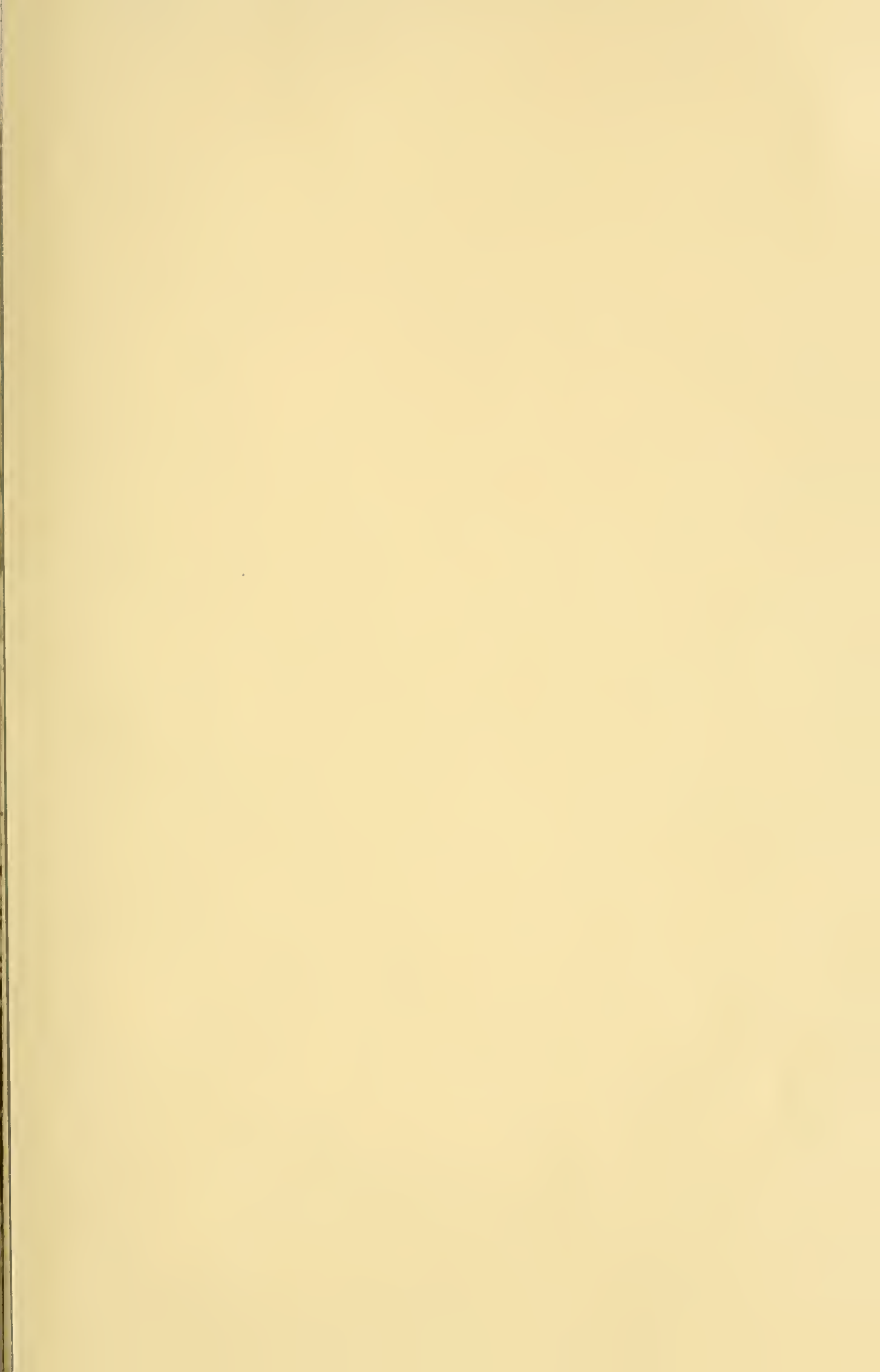
On the date that General Curtis wrote this characteristic letter the Seventh Kansas was hanging on the flank of Van Dorn's army, advancing on Corinth, and attacked their train at Bone Yard.



after. We began to feel that we could eventually trot in with the old First Kansas infantry, which was among the cheerers. It is an old story and has been briefly told elsewhere. As time went on the name "Jayhawkers" lost its opprobrium, and the Seventh Kansas began to make it an honorable appellation. Yet it was the same regiment, little changed from the band which had served about two months in Missouri, and, if we believe vague tradition, laid the country desolate.

Cleveland met his fate as a discredited outlaw at the ford of the Marais des Cygnes. Jennison has cashed in his checks, withdrawn from the turbulent game of life, and judgment has been passed upon him. With all his sins, he had a gambler's generosity, and he often made life endurable to some poor struggling soul. May his deeds of kindness be remembered and all that was evil in his nature be forgotten.

Let us see. Kansas aspires to be called the "Jayhawker State." Our most illustrious citizens hail the name as a badge of honor. Our great University perpetuates the name in its war-cry that celebrates victory or shouts defiance after stubborn defeat. How came dishonor to be purified? Did not that one cavalry regiment that inherited the name and bore it through four years of strenuous war do much to make it what it is? How else was the miracle accomplished?



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